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121 disappear or change, but rather persists.[47] That is, the personality configuration created in this fashion tends to maintain itself and to resist casual efforts of reeducation.

All early experiences are closely related to the relationship of the child to his parents, parental surrogates, or parental extensions.[48] We will refer to the child's earliest meaningful interpersonal relationship with parents or parental surrogates as the *oedipal situation*. Often we find societies in which the father is singled out as the disciplinarian. Toward him the child, especially the boy, must be compliant and reserved. As a result of these socially patterned expectations, considerable fear is manifested toward that parent, and this attitude is often accompanied by a disproportionate affect invested in the mother. This is the classical oedipal pattern of western society.[49] From such a complex are derived conscious and unconscious expectations that will later be extended to many other social relationships and will also be expressed in the relationship of the individual to the supernatural. These expectations tend to persist through life. Where security in childhood lies in placating a strong and harsh parent in order to keep in his good graces, security in later life may tend to be sought in submission and passivity in human relations. Aggression or assertiveness becomes revolt in this pattern. The world view in such instances may, for example, regard men in dominant positions as threatening and potentially dangerous, while the self-view will motivate reserve, hesitancy, and timidity.

METHOD

122 The method followed in investigating Kaska culture and ethos may be considered under three aspects: first, the author's preparation for field work; second, the techniques adopted for the collection of data, and, finally, the procedure followed in the analysis of the data.

Preparation. At the time when work was undertaken in 1945 the author had already spent three months in the field working with Kaska Indians. He was, therefore, familiar with the people whom he now proposed to study more intimately. A didactic psychoanalysis lasting several months had succeeded in clarifying much of psychoanalytic theory and practice. Training as well as wide reading in the fields of psychology and psychiatry gave further background for handling personal data. Several months spent as a research assistant, obtaining and analyzing life histories of alcoholics in urban American society, furnished important practical experience in interviewing and making judgments of adjustment in a semi-psychiatric situation.

●123 *Field techniques.* The ethnographer presented himself as a friend of the Indians. He was always sympathetic to any complaints addressed to him, whether these were directed

[47] Maslow, *Dynamics of Personality Organization* (1943), 331–334; Nadel, *Review of Mauss* (1938); Nadel, *The Typological Approach to Culture* (1936–1937), 278–279.

[48] The term parent extensions is used to designate relatives, such as the mother's brother, the mother's sister, grandparents, and others who, in some societies, may be in frequent interaction with the child and so reflect the diffusion of some of the affect which, in western culture, is typically bound up in the parent-child relationship. See Mead, *The Family and the Future* (1949); Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (1927).

[49] It also appears to be the pattern in Chinese society. See Dai, *Divided Loyalty in War* (1944); Yang, *A Chinese Village* (1945), 118–130.

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against the government, white men, or other Indians with whom the ethnographer was also friendly. Above all the ethnographer (as well as his wife) sought to adopt a permissive attitude toward the people. Censoriousness was definitely shunned, and it was only after a high degree of familiarity and confidence had been attained that any attempt was made to enforce elementary hygiene by stopping indiscriminate spitting in the tent or floor in cabin. At about the same time some attitude had to be taken with reference to the problem of alcohol. In one or two episodes alcohol released so much aggression and nuisance in two men (aggression which tended to manifest itself toward the ethnographer), that drinking began to pose a serious problem. The ethnographer, therefore, informed his host that as far as he, the ethnographer, was concerned he would not join any more drinking parties that fall or winter. The host, Old Man, was somewhat chagrined and regretful for what had occurred but no further brewing was done for several weeks. It may be pointed out that this episode, except for instituting a brief period of strain, did not seriously impair rapport where this relationship had previously been established with individuals.

All field work was conducted in English and no interpreters were employed. The author, together with his wife and family of two children, ages two and four, lived first in Lower Post, the summer residence of the Kaska Indians, and then traveled with one group to its winter trapping area. Three months were spent in a winter settlement containing four Indian families.

Field procedure, as much as possible, followed the method of participant-observation. During the summer the author and his wife attended Indian dances and participated in many other cultural activities, including two potlatches, several gambling games, and a moose packing trip. In addition Indian camps were frequently visited and people were made welcome whenever they chose to visit the home of the ethnographer, which was located close to the hub of the trading post. In the winter, visiting was greatly increased because of the fact that all life was centered in a small settlement where interpersonal contacts were frequent. During this latter period the writer accompanied Indians hunting, fishing, and traveling. He also assisted them in a number of other cultural undertakings, like house building, toboggan construction, and trapping. Participant-observation obviously involved making notes of all ethnographically significant details which came to the writer's attention. Where observation presented problems, questions were noted and their answers sought by means of direct questioning.

Behavior manifested in the social interaction between the ethnographer, or the members of his family, and Indians was also carefully observed. Upon analysis these relationships proved to be revealing in instances of both positive and negative transferences noted in informants. An effort was also made to remain conscious of transferences established on the part of the ethnographer. To guard against bias these had to be taken into account when analyzing data derived from the objects of such relationships.

A "personality data sheet" (hereafter referred to as P-data sheet) was kept for those individuals with whom the ethnographer came into close and frequent interaction. The sheets contained simply of dated verbatim or abstracted transcripts of remarks and conversations expressing attitudes, wishes, and complaints. Folktales brought out in casual con-